

A
R E P O R T E
O F A D I S C O V R S E
C O N C E R N I N G S V -

p r e m e power in affaires of
Religion.

Manifesting

That this power is a right of Regalitie, in-
separably annexed to the Soueraigntie of every State:
and that it is a thing both extremely dangerous,
and contrarie to the use of all auncient Em-
pires and Commonwealths, to ac-
knowledge the same in a for-
raine Prince.

By Sir John Hayward.



AT LONDON

Imprinted by F. K. for Iohn Hardie, and are to be
Sold by Iohn Flasket, dwelling at the signe of the blacke
Beare in Paules Church yeard. 1606.

Handwritten signature or initials, possibly 'A. H.'

2d
409



THE SUMMARIE.

- 1 He occasion of this discourse.
- 2 **T**he propofition: That fupreme power in Ecclefiafticall affaires is a right of Soueraigntie.
- 3 Soueraigne or maiefticall power muft be perpetuall.
- 4 Soueraigne power muft alfo be abfolute.
- 5 Affaires of greateft importance are annexed to the Soueraigne Maieftie.
- 6 Nothing in a State of fo great importance as is Religion.
- 7 Affaires of Religion are to be managed by thofe who beare the Soueraigntie.
- 8 It is dangerous for others to be depended upon in regard of Religion.
- 9 Two policies annuently obferued for auoyding thefe dangers: To exclude externall ceremonies; and to commit the ordering of matters in Religion, to the Soueraigne authoritie within the State.
- 10 Instance of the firft.
- 11 The fecond praftifed by the Iewes. 12 By the Egyptians. 13 By diuers other people.
- 14 In the Empire of Affyria. 15 In the Empire of Perfia. 16 In the Empire and principall States of Greece.
- 17 In the Empire of Rome vnder the gouernment of Kings.
- 18 In the popular State of the Romane Empire.

- 19 In the Romane Empire vnder heathen Emperours.
- 20 In the Romane Empire, vnder the first Christian Emperours.
- 21 Matters of Externall or accidentall forme in the Church, depended altogether vpon the first Christian Emperours.
- 22 Many lawes of the first Christian Emperours attributed vnto Popes.
- 23 Matters of Faith or of Essentiall forme, ordered by direction and authoritie of the first Christian Emperours.
- 24 The eight generall Councils called and confirmed by Emperours.
- 25 A strife betweene the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople, whether should be greatest.
- 26 Diuers Emperours fauoured the Bishops of Constantinople.
- 27 By giuing this prerogatiue to the Bishops of Rome, the East Empire was dismembred.
- 28 The absolute power of the Bishops of Rome in Ecclesiasticall affaires, reduced the West Empire not only to a feeble state; but to be held in Vassalage to the Sea of Rome.
- 29 By the same power the Bishops of Rome claimed Soueraignty also, ouer diuers principall kingdomes in Europe, and generally ouer all States in the world.
- 30 Diuers distresses by this meanes occasioned.
- 31 The Conclusion.
- 32 Certaine questions propounded.



TO HIS HONORABLE FRIEND

SIR I. P. *Knight.*



It, holding my selfe beholding vnto you, for many kind courtesies, I cannot but oftentimes bend and busie my deuise, to thinke how (in some sort) to thanke you for the same; and if not fully to discharge, yet freely to acknowledge and professe my debt: to satisfie (I say) in desire, when in deed I am not able. But, howsoever in other performances I shall be weake, yet I will not faile to leaue a large memorie of your true habit of honestie and vertue: and in the meane season not omit to visit you with such exercises of penne, as the streightnes of other occasions shall permit me leisure to contriue. For this present I haue made choyce to present vnto you, a small enlargement of certaine passages of speech, lately raised at the table of *N.* which, being much frequented by persons of most principall note, hath commonly the great varietie of dishes, answered with like varietie of discourse.

The first part of the dinner was passed over in a sad and sober silence, our tongues seeming to giue place to the office of our teeth; and euery man commending

mending the goodnesse of our fare, by close feeding upon the same. At the last silence was broken, and some speeches spent in matters of conceit. In which reines one of the companie tooke often occasion to speake of a *Terrible blow*; alluding to the same words in that letter, whereby the late practise against his Maiestie and the whole body of the State, was beaten out and brought into light. Hereupon *N.* did breake forth into a liberall commendation of the Lord *Munmeagle*, to whom the letter was directed: affirming, that hee was a personage of true honour and merit, for that by his felicitie and faith, not onely the liues of many thousand particular persons, and whatsoeuer else was decreed vnto them, but the life also of this Empire was at that time preserved; that his high Nobilitie, enobled and made pretious both with curtesie and magnanimitie, had now iustly placed him in the formost ranke of fame. He proceeded to declare, the fashion of that hot and harsell attempt: what faire opportunitie was thereby opened to secure our selues, from the fierie furie of those homebred enemies, who, rather than wee should not bee destroyed, would ouerwhelme vs in the ruines of the State: That seruilitie could not hereupon be interpreted crueltie; that hereupon nothing could be interpreted to be done in regard of religion, but onely for the necessarie defence of our safetie.

This speech was diuersly taken, according as affections were diuersely disposed; some did liuelie, some faintly, and (as it was coniectured) fainedly approve it; none did openly oppose against it.

From this, they fell to talke of the Bill propounded in Parliament against Recusants; and of the Oath of Supremacie, which was appointed generally to be taken. Of the first they did but sparingly speake, as being

Being a matter then handled in highest place of deliberation: vpon the second they maintained a longer stay. *N.* repeated many conueniences for which this Oath ought generally to bee taken. Whereto a certaine Knight replied, not directly contradicting him, but inuoluing his intents in such soft and nice distinctions, that hee seemed rather to declare that he would not haue the Oath imposed at all, then in what fashion he would haue it imposed.

These obscure speeches hauing bred some incertaintie, whilst euery man rather coniectured then assured what should be ment: and controuersies of conueniencie being not alwaies easie to bee determined by way of discourse, because all men are apt to attribute much to their owne conceits; I drew the question to a higher degree. Affirming, that it seemed not onely conuenient, but necessarie also in all grounds and reasons of State, that a King who acknowledgeth no superiour vnder God, should be acknowledged to haue supreame authoritie vnder God in Ecclesiasticall affaires: That this is a principall point of Regalitie, and therefore necessarily annexed to the soueraigne maiestie of euery state: That it is a hard matter if not impossible, for any nation, either to grow or long time to continue very great, wherein a foraine power doth hold the regiment in Religion: That in all ancient Empires and Common wealthes it hath been vsed, That;

I could not finish that which I was about to speak, being interrupted by a confused clamour of three or foure at the table, who esteemed that which I had said, not for a *paradoxe*, but for an *Adoxo*, or flat absurditie: seeing many Christian countries, both lately and at this present, haue admitted forain gouernment in matters of religion.

By this time the Basons and Ewers were set vpon the table, and all of vs were attentiuē to the giuing of thanks. After wee had washed, and the cloath was taken away. *N.* in this sort renewed speech.

What hath been the vse of auncient Empires and Common-wealths, concerning supreamē gouernment in matters pertaining to religion, I haue not (I doe confesse) obserued: But it seemeth indeed, that the politicall gouernment in Ecclesiasticall affaires should be a point of Regalitie; and that it is a hard matter, if not impossible, for any state either to grow or long time to continue very great, wherein a forraigne power doth hold the regiment in religion. At the least, either to grow or continue any greater, then that forraigne power shall thinke expedient.

That which from me was openly reiectēd, being allowed by *N.* and in the very same words by him repeated, found good acceptance among the rest. Whereupon I tooke occasion to say, that speech (I perceiued) was oftentimes like vnto coine, which passed for currant, not in regard of the mettall onely, but chiefly in regard of the stampe that was set vpon it.

Nay, said *N.* beautifying his speech with a courteous smile, we will also bring your mettall to the touch. There is but one truth in religion, which is not subiect to any humane power: but the discipline thereof, or matters of circumstance and external forme, are held by our Church to depend vpon the power of the Prince. If question be made touching matter of substance, the same also may be determined within the realme, by the Clergie thereof, assembled together by authoritie of the Prince. Or if the Clergie of any other cōuntry should be taken to assistance or aduice, they come as equals, and not as superiours.

superiours. For so *Eusebius* ^a reporteth, that *Cyprian* ^a *Euseb. lib. 6.*
 Bishop of Carthage did aduise with the Bishop of *cap. 34.*
 Rome, concerning the affaires of the Church: and
 that *Dyonise* of Alexandria ^b aduised in like sort ^b *Euseb. lib. 6.*
 with *Cornelius*, *Stephen* and *Sixtus* Bishops of Rome, *cap. 46. & lib.*
 without attributing vnto them either title or quali- *7. cap. 5. & 9.*
 tie, otherwise then as men of their owne order and
 ranke.

Now, I haue read many controuerfies in Diuinitie
 concerning this question, whereof the multitude
 doth rather cloy then content; and therefore I will
 not embaeke you in that disputation. If you can
 make prooffe out of other writers, that this authori-
 tie in matters of religion, is a right of Regalitie, it will
 follow (I suppose) that it cannot without apparant
 danger depend vpon a foraine power. If also you
 do manifest, that in all principall Empires and Com-
 mon-wealths, this authoritie hath bin exercised by
 the chiefe in state, you may probably conclude that
 it is a Regalitie. For these rights doe little varie, but
 remaine in a manner the very same in all states, of
 what kind soeuer they are. And although true reli-
 gion is reuealed vnto vs by God, yet religion in the
 generall proceedeth from nature; in regard where-
 of, there is some coherence and communie in all
 sorts of religions; as to acknowledge that there is a
 God; to worship him; to worship him by oblation
 and sacrifice &c. For although all nations doe not
 acknowledge and worship the true God, yet there is
 no nation (as *Cicero* ^c saith) which doth not both ^c *De Nat. deo.*
 acknowledge and adore some. These generall points *lib. 1.*
 which naturally, or by consent of nations are com-
 mon in religion, may well bee considered without
 contending which religion in particular is true. For
 this will hardly by all parties be agreed: because e-
 uery man (as *Philo* saith ^d) either by vse or by in- ^d *Phil. de leg. 3.*

* Chrysost. in
Alb. homil. 33.

† Singuli di-
cunt, ego ve-
rum dico.

struction iudgeth his owne religion best. So * *Chrysostome* affirmeth, that in all differencies of religion, euery man will say, *I say true* †. But this argument which you haue propounded being new; this point being not pointed at by any whom I haue scene, I would gladly here you fortifie the same.

The argument being new (answered I) and now newly rayed into question, you must not engage your expectation too farre; I shall doe much, if I minister some matter for better iudgements to work into forme.

The rights of Soueraignty or of maiesty, so termed by *Cicero*; and by *Linie*, the rights of Empire, and of Imperiall Maiestie; by *Tacitus*, *sacra regni*; by *Aristotle*, *αὐτοκρατορία*; *αὐτοκρατία*; *δυναστεία*; by the Lawyers, *Sacra sacrorum*; *sacra indimidua*; *iura sublimia*; by the *Fendistes*, *iura regalia*; are nothing else, but an absolute and perpetuall power, to exercise the highest actions and affaires in some cretaine state. These are the proper qualities of Soueraigne or Maiesticall power; that it be both absolute and also perpetuall. If it be absolute but not perpetuall, then is it not soueraigne; for such power hath been oftentimes committed, by the *Romanes* to their *Dictators*, by the *Lacedemonians* to their *Harmoses*; by many Kings to their Regents, Viceroyes or Lieutenants. But because they haue no proprietic of power inherent in them, but only an execution or exercise thereof committed to their charge, vnder limitation of time; because also it may vpon iust cause bee reuoked within that time; they are not accounted to haue the same in Soueraignetic. And this holdeth true, although such power bee committed for a very long time; as the *Athenians* did to their great *Archos* for tenne yerres: although it bee committed also in a most ample manner,

manner, which the auncient Latines called *optimus* *legis*, without controlement or account; such as had the *Pontifices* in Rome; or as the *Cnidians* euery yeere chose 60. of their Citizens whom for this cause they called *Amimones*; that is, men without imputation or account. And lastly, although it be without certaine limitation of time; as sometimes had the Regents of France, created for the infancie, furie or absence of their King; who before the law of *Charles* the fifth, dispatched matters in their proper name.

Againe, if it be perpetuall but not absolute, as either depending vpon some other, or else giuen either vpon charge, or with exception and restraint, then is it not soueraigne. For such power was giuen by decree of *Charles* the fifth Emperour to the Senate of Milan; *To confirme the constitutions of the Prince, as also to infirme and abrogate the same; to dispence contrarie to the statutes; to make enablements, giue prerogatiues, graunt restitutions &c. that no appeale should be made from the Senate &c. And what- soeuer they should doe, should haue like force as if it were done or decreed by the Prince.* Yet might they not graunt pardon for offences, or giue letters of safe conduct vnto parties conuicted. So likewise in the ancient forme of inaugurating the Kings of Arragon, the great Magistrate or Iustice said thus vnto him: *Woe who are in vertue not inferior, and in power greater then thy selfe, create thee King; yet with this condition, that one amongst vs shal haue more power and command then thy selfe.*

I will not particularly rehearse what actions are proper vnto soueraigne power: generally it may be said, that those affaires of state, which are of greatest importance and weight, are annexed vnto the soueraigne Maiestie, and cannot be separated from the same. For, because some matters are of so high na-

ture, that vpon the ording of them dependeth; not onely the honour and dignitie, but the safetie also and libertie of the people; not the flourishing constitution only, but the very life and being of the Common-wealth; it hath been thought fit by generall consent of Nations, that they cannot bee managed by any other authoritie, than that wherein the soueraignetie is settled; whether it be in one man, as in a Monarchie; or in a few, as in an *Aristocrace*; or in all, as in a popular or *Democraticall* gouernment. They cannot bee vsurped, they cannot beⁿ prescribed, they cannot bee distracted or aliened from the same, they cannot be absolutely exercised by any other, than by them who beare the supreme Maie^{ty}tie. They to whole trust a Common-weale is committed, must order the chiefeſt affaires of the same: they who are appointed for the very head of a societie, must giue both direction and motion to the principall actions of the whole bodie. And therefore they are termed *sacra sacrorum*ⁱ, as hath been said; and also, *iura indiuidua*^k: because they are (σὺνθεσις) the firme foundation and groundworke of a state, and can no waies be separated from the souerainetie thereof.

But there is nothing in a Common-wealth of so high nature, nothing of so important weight, as is Religion; for this conserueth families, as *Euripides* testifieth, and is a most excellent ornament in a Citie^m: yea, *Lactantius* affirmeth it the onely meanes to knit and conserue men in mutuall societieⁿ: and that without religion the life of man would be filled with all foolishnes, madnesse and mischiefe. So likewise *Plutarch*^o calleth religion, *the band which containeth all societies, and the very foundation of iustice*

^h Alex. in l. si-
lie quā de lib.
et post. Card.
Flor. et Jafin
proam. seqa.

ⁱ Mart. Land. in
c. 1. qui feud.
da. Imola. in
Rub. de ver. b.
oblig.

^k Bald. in pro-
am. feud.

^l Cyn. in l. si vi-
ua. c. de bo. mat.

Bald. in autb.
hoc amplius. c.
de fidei com.

Ang. Bald. in l.
omnes. c. de
prescript. Plat.

in l. si quis de-
curio. Fels. in
Rub. de presc.

Io. And. in cap.
ult. de prob.

lib. 6. Alex.
conf. 141. lib. 1.

no. 2.

no. 2.

6

¹ In Bacchis:
συνθεσις δυναν.

^m Eurip. in sup-
plic. xxiij. et a-
lex. in l. si quis de-
curio.

ⁿ Plut. de ira. cap. 12. religio et timor dei solus est qui custodit bo-
minum inter se societatem.

^o Plut. contra Colot.

and

² Horat.

³ Arist. Rhet. ad

Alex. τοις θεοις

δουλοῦντες ἵνα

τοις μάνθῃ αὐ-

τοῖς τιμῶσι.

⁴ Plut. in Ca-

milla.

⁵ k. τοῖς δαίμονι

ὑποτάσσονται.

⁶ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

⁷ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

⁸ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

⁹ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹⁰ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹¹ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹² Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹³ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹⁴ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹⁵ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹⁶ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹⁷ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹⁸ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

¹⁹ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

²⁰ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

²¹ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

²² Plut. in Ser-

torio.

²³ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

²⁴ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

²⁵ Plut. in Ser-

torio.

to obtaine the rule of humane affaires, if they were **well**
and constantly serviceable in divine. Also the Poet **;**

Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas.

Generally, for that in all affaires whether publike or private, it draweth our endeouours to a prosperous euent, for the most part better found in the end, than it can be coniectured by the meanes. For so *Aristotle* did acknowledge ^h, that God is *more* **fanon-**
rable and inclinable to those by who he is most honoured.

On the contrarie, it is impossible for that State to stand, much lesse to flourish and thrive, where those two extreames of religion are highly in strength, whereto *Plutarch* ⁱ saith, the weakenes of man is exceeding prone; ^k the one is vaine superstition; ^l the other is cold carelesnesse and proud contempt. The first *Plutarch* ^m doth appropriate to barbarous people; *Seneca* ⁿ termeth it a *mad error*: *Cicero* ^o saith that it stirreth the minds of men and maketh them vnquiet. And that it breaketh the courage and heart, *Lucretius* doth in these words affirme:

*Faciunt animos humiles formidine diuini
depressoq; premunt ad terram.*

The second is called by *Hermes*, ^p a great disease and sicknes of the soule, making it inclinable to all actions that are euill. From hence ariseth discord and disturbance in the state: from hence *Cicero* ^q saith, great calamities are cast vpon it: which is also confirmed by that of *Horace*:

*Di multa neglecti dederunt,
Hesperia mala luctuose.*

For these causes *Cicero* ^r obserued, that the Commonwealth of the Romans was most enlarged vnder the command of them, who had religion in regard. After him *Constantine* the Emperour left written, ^s that a Commonwealth is contained in order, *more*
religionibus paruissent. ^t l. 16. in qualibet. de Episc. & cle. C. Theod.

by religion then by trauaile of body. And Iustinian also
professed, * that he was the more carefull about the
gouernment of the Church, because, *If that be kept
in good fashion and forme, the other parts of govern-
ment shall thereby be redressed*."

Novel. 42.

circa ff.

u in ep. c. c. ep. m.

φωλαπαιδίου, εἰ

τὸ λαίτγιον ἰμῶν ἀ-

δουλοῦ πολλόνου-

μα.

Hereupon also it is necessarilie expedient, that
they who beare the soueraigntie of State, should
alwaies manage the affaires of religion; either by
themselues, or by some at their appointment
within the same State; and neuer receiue direc-
tion and rule from a foraine power. For the
Church (saith *Optatus*) is a part of the State: and
(as another said) * Religion must bee in a Com-
mon-wealth, and not the contrarie. Vpon which
ground *Diotogenes* in *Stobaeus* said; *A perfect
King must of necessitie bee a good Commander, and
Iudge, and Priest* 7. And againe: the best must bee
held in honour by the best, and that which ruleth by
him that beareth rule *. But *Aristotle* in this point
is most expresse, (For I must often cite these Au-
thors to giue satisfaction vnto those, who regard
more by whom a thing is spoken, then what is
said.) * The King (saith hee) is ruler and director of
those things that pertaine vnto the Gods. Whereunto
somewhat agreeth that of *Iustine*; ^b he is accounted
next vnto God by whom the Maiestie of God is main-
tained.

** After epist.*

Religio debet

esse in rep. non

contra.

τὸ αἰνέειν τὸν τι-

λίαν βασιλῆα,

ἐκ τῆς ἰσότητος ἀγα-

θῆς ἰσότης, εἰ δὲ ἀγα-

θῆς, εἰ ἐπίστα.

** τὸ γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθόν*

ὡς τὸ ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

ἀγαθόν, εἰ τὸ

For, how should he be esteemed a Soueraigne,
who, in the greatest actions and affaires of the State,
acknowledgeth the iurisdiction of another greater
then himselfe? what maiestie should he be adiudged
to beare, who is vnder the authority of another man?
to reverse his iudgements, to correct his lawes, to re-
straine or constrain him at pleasure and with ease?
Religion is feared within the soule and conscience of

^c Lib. 14. nat.
hist. Religione
vita constat.

men, and is a most potent ruler of the same. The life (saith *Plinie*^c) consisteth in religion. If then the consciences of a people be commanded by a stranger, if their soules be subiect to a serraime power, if their liues be at the seruice of an external Prince; it is but a weake, but a dead dominion, which the naturall Prince shall hold ouer their bodies. That Prince whose subiects soules are in subiection to a stranger for matters of religion, shall neither preuaile more against his enemies, nor beare greater authoritie amongst his owne people, then that stranger shall li- mit him leaue.

8

^a Cic. in 5. in
Verrem. omnes
religione mo-
uentur.

^b Liu. lib. 4.
quibus quæstus
sunt capiti su-
perstitione ani-
mi.

^c Curt. lib. 4.
ubi vana reli-
gione capta est,
melius vatibus
quàm ducibus
suis paret.

^d Lib. 6. cap. 10

All men of themselves are moued with religion^d, but when they are also thrust on by those, who make it their purchase (as *Linie* speaketh^e) to possesse soules with superstition, then doe they not in- consideratly only, but in a wjld surie runne and rush vpon most desperate aduentures. The multitude (saith *Curtius*^f) being weake, fierce and mutable, when it is once possessed with vaine religion, is more ob- dient to their Priests, then to their Commander or Prince.

Diodorus Siculus g hath a memorable Historie concerning this poine, of the Priests of *Iupiter*, in the Iland *Meroe*, enuironed with the riuer *Nilus*; who held the people of *Ethiopia* in so superstitious dependancie vpon them, that they would send to them at pleasure, and giue in charge the slaughter of their Kings; no man making offer either to deny or to delay their cruell command. vntill *Ergamenes*, a King of *Ethiopia* suddenly surprised and slew them all, whereby both their office and authority did sur- cease.

^h Flor. 3. cap. 16

Florus h writeth that *Ennius* a slaue counterfei- ting a fanaticall surie, and pretending some diuine inspiration, was able to set 60. thousand armed men in

i in the face of the Romans, euen in the principal time of their policie and strength ; being then hardlie able to deliuer *Sicilia* frō his subiection. *Iosephus* reporteth ¹ of an *Egyptian* in the time of the Emperour *Claudius*, who bearing himselfe to be a Prophet, vnder that pretext adioined 30. thousand men vnto him, in the country of *Iuden*; with whom he maintained head against the forces of the Romans. *Tacitus* ^k writeth the like of *Marion*, who giuing forth that he was the God and deliuerer of *Gallia*, drew 8. thousand men vnto him, with whom he attempted against the Romane garrisons.

One of our late writers ¹ reporteth, that because in one chapter of the *Alcoran*, all the *Muselman* Princes are forbidden to call themselves Lords, except their *Caliph* or great Vicar of their Prophet *Mahamed*, by colour thereof, the *Mahometan* Bishops vsurped absolute soueraignty, aboue all their Princes ; disposing of principalities at their pleasure, vnder the name and title of governments. At last the *Muselman* Princes supposing that Chapter not to haue been inserted by *Mahamed* their Law-giuer, but by their *Caliphs*, for aduancing their owne authoritie, at such time when of diuers corrupt *Alcorans* they composed one, long time after the death of *Mahamed*; they tooke aduantage of a diuision among their great Bishops, when three of them did take vpon them the title of great *Caliph* together, and thereupon the Princes of *Persia*, the *Curdes*, the *Turkes*, the *Tartars*, the *Sultans* of *Egypt*, the *Kings* of *Marrocco*, of *Fez*, of *Telenfin*, of *Tanes*, of *Bugia*, the people of *Zenetes*, and of *Lun-tune* quitted themselves of their obeysance to the *Caliphs*, and maintained Soueraigntie within their states.

Elmabel in *Africa* ^m, hauing gained a great opini- ⁿ *Lto. lib. 2.*

* *Leu. lib. 3.*

* *Annal. Turc.*

on of sanctitie among the people of Marocco, raised them against *Abraham* their King, and dispoyled him both of his Empire and life. * With like industrie and art another impostor called *Chemin Men-nal* stirred the people against the King of *Fesse*, and constrained him by armes to yeeld vnto him the kingdome of *Temesna*. * *Schacoculis* being of the sect of the Persians, by pretence of piety gathered such strength, that he tooke many Cities in Asia, ouerthrew the Turkes forces in three great battailes, and brought his whole Empire to a dangerous distresse.

How *Iohn of Leiden*, a Taylor by his trade, set all Germany in vproare and in armes, by bearing himselfe to be a principall man in religion, it scarce exceedeth the memory of this present age. And what practises in this kind, haue been either archieued or attempted in other Christian countries, I shall haue occasiō hereafter to touch. But for auoiding of these and the like dangers, I find that two policies were aunciently obserued. One consisted in excluding all externall ceremonies and rites: the other was, in committing the gouernment for matters of Religion, to the soueraigne power and authoritie in the State.

10

In regard of the first, the Iewes would not conuerse or accompanie a man who was not of their owne religion. Among the Grecians, *Socrates* and *Protagoras* were condemned, *Anaxagoras* and *Aristotle* were accused for holding opinions contrarie to their receiued religion. *Josephus* writeth P, that the Athenians had a seuerer law against any man who should speake a word in religion, against that which was established by law. The Scythians put *Anacharsis* to death, for performing the rites of *Bacchus* after the manner of the Grecians. *Linus*

writeth...

*P. Joseph. lib. 2.
cont. Appio. 57.
et 70. et 71. et 72.
et 73. et 74. et 75.
et 76. et 77. et 78.
et 79. et 80. et 81.
et 82. et 83. et 84.
et 85. et 86. et 87.
et 88. et 89. et 90.*

write: h that among the Romanes, the *Ediles* recei-
ued in part of their charge, & that no externall reli-
gion or ceremony should be brought in. And to the
same purpose *M. Emilus* recited a decree; & that
no man should sacrifice in a publike or sacred place, after
a new or externall rite. How often (saith the same Li-
uie ^f) haue our faibers and ancestors given charge to
the Magistrates, that externall ceremonies should bee
forbidden? *Mecenas* in *Dio* ^c gaue this exhortation
and aduice to *Augustus*; "Obserue religion after the
fashion of your country, and compell others to do the like:
but those who bring in strange and foraine rites, hate
and correct; because they perswade many to worke al-
terations, from whence conspiracies, and seditions are of-
tentimes occasioned.

Concerning the second point, *Iustine* ^x reporteth
that it was a custome among the Iewes, to haue the
same men both Princes and Priests. This was at
sometimes true in the gouernment of the Iewes. At
other times the Kings gaue order in matters of reli-
gion, and appointed not only inferiour Priests and
officers (as did *Iosias* ⁷) but also high Priests (as did
King *Salomon* ^x) to execute the same. For this cause
Moses left in charge ^a, that the King should reade in
the booke of the law all the daies of his life; that he might
learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the
words of that law, and those ordinances for to doe them.
For this cause also they were sacred with oyle, to de-
clare (saith *Eusebius* ^b) both their dutie and autho-
ritie in matters of religion. From hence it proceed-
ed, that as the Kings prouoked good or euill, so the
true religion was either obserued or neglected.
From hence also *Tacitus* ^c hath written: The honor
of Priesthood is a great assurance of power to the Iewes.

^x *1x. 2m. lib. 36.*
^m *mos est apud Iudeos, ut eosdem reges & sacerdotes hab rent.* ⁷ *2. Chron. 35. 2.*
^a *1. Reg. 3. 21.* ^a *Deut. 17. 19.* ^b *Lib. 1. Eccles. hist.* ^c *Lib. 3. hist. Iudaeis sacrato-*
rum bonos firmamentum potentie erat.

The Scriptures doe further testifie, that *Melchisedech* was both King and Priest; and that *Balak* King of Moab offered sacrifice together with *Balaam*.

12

The Egyptians from amongst whom the Iewes were extracted, and with whom they communicated in many ceremonies, are reported likewise by some, to haue annexed the royall and priestly dignitie together. *Marcillus Ficinus* affirmeth^c out of *Plato*, and *Seneca* in *Stobaeus*^f, that their custome was to elect Priests out of their Philosophers: and^g *Lib. 2. cap. 3.* out of their Priests, whom *Diodorus*^h placeth nextⁱ *Strab. lib. 11.* in dignitie to the King (as *Strabo*^h writeth of the Priests of the Albanes) to make choice of the best approued for their King. Whereupon *Mercurius* the grand-child of that *Mercurie*, who was sonne to *Iupiter* and *Maia*, being called by the Egyptians *Tenen*, by the Grecians was named *Trismegistus*, which signifieth thrice greatest, because he was the greatest Philosopher (for so is he also termed by *Tertullian*) the greatest Priest and the greatest King; although *Suidas* coniectureth that name to be giuen him, because he did expressly write of the Trinitie.

^a *Aduers. Valent.*

^k *Strab. lib. 5.*

^l *In Calig. c. 35.*

^m *De arte amand. lib. 1.*

ⁿ *Lib. 3.*

^o *Argonaut. lib. 2.*

^p *Epigram. 64. lib. 9.*

^q *In bel. Alexand.*

Strabo saith^k, that in *Aritia* hee was a King who was Priest of *Diana*; the same is confirmed by *Sextonius*^l, and mentioned by diuers Poets, namely *Onid*^m.

*Ecce suburbana templum memorale Diana,
Partaq; per gladios regna nocente manu.*

And *Lucane*ⁿ;

Qua sublime nemus Scythica qua templa Diana.

And *Valer. Flaccus*^o;

— *Et sol non mitis Aritia regi.*

And lastly by *Martial*^p;

*Qua trinita nemerosa petit, dum regna viator
Oetaeum domina marmor ab urbe legit.*

The like doth *Hirtius*^q report to be obserued in the Temple

Temple of *Bellona*, in *Cappadocia*. The like also doth
Virgil write of *Anius*:

xxv Rex idem banisum pocius sacerdos.

Æneid. 3.

Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, that the Priests of
 Pantheon were both Leaders in the field, and also
 Judges and arbitratours in controuersies of right. *Lib. 6. cap. 10.*
Strabo testifieth that in *Zela*, the Priest had supreme
 both dignitie and authoritie in all things. *Lib. 12.*
Iustine writeth, that *Mida*, sonne of *Gordius* King of *Phry-*
gia, being by *Orpheus* entred into the orders of the
 sacred and solemne mysteries of those times, filled
 all *Phrygia* with religion: wherewith he more affu-
 red himselfe, then hee did by armes. *Tacitus* re-
 porteth that among the *Germanes*, it was permit-
 ted to no man to beate or bind or otherwile to pu-
 nish, but only to the Priests. *Strabo* saith that in
Cuma of *Pontus* the Priest did weare a Diadem twise
 in the yeere, which is the ensigne of a King. *Lib. 12.*
Vitruuius declareth that among the *Trallians*, the princi-
 pall Priest had a princely Palace appointed for his
 abroad. *Diodorus Siculus* *Orosius* and *Pausani-*
as doe write, that the priest of *Hercules* in *Tyre*
 was apparrelled in purple, and did weare a Diadem
 vpon his head. *Herodianus* writeth, that the Priest
 of the Sunne among the *Phœnicians*, was attired in
 a long garment, consistig onely of purple and
 gold; and did weare a Crowne of gold set with pre-
 cious stones; and that *Heliogabalus*, being Emperour
 of *Rome* did exercise that priesthood. *Ferd. Lopez*
 affirmeth, that the Kings of *Malabar* in East *India*
 are Priests or Bramenes, and must die in their sacred
 place, as men consecrated vnto God. And in *Chi-*
na there is an auncient law, that no religion bee
 brought in, without allowance of the King and of
 his Councell: he that violateth this law is punished
 by death.

In

14

In the first great Empire, *Berosus* hath left written, that *Ninus* first dedicated Temples to *Iupiter Belus* and *Iuno* his parents; and caused them to bee honoured as Gods. *Zamias Ninias* his sonne exceedingly both amplified and adorned these Temples. *Belochus* with the rule of his Empire exercised also the office of the high Priest of the same *Iupiter Belus*; and for that cause the name *Belochus* was given vnto him.

15

* *Cic. de diuinat.*

The Kings of Persia, vnder whose gouernment the second great Empire was founded, are acknowledged by all writers to haue been inaugurated to be the Princes of their sacred ceremonies.

16

* *Apud Arist. Rhet. 3. cap. 10.*
 † *Iust. lib. 5.*
 ‡ *Contra Neerum.*

In Athens and Lacedæmonia, the two eyes of Greece, as *Leptines* * and *Iustine* † doe rightly tearme them; the ceremonies of their religion were ordered by their Kings. The Athenians had their *Bazilia* or King, as *Demosthenes* testifieth ‡, who was president and chiefe director in all their sacred ceremonies.

Δ *De Repub. Lib. 2.*

Xenophon saith Δ, that the Kings of the Spartanes or Lacedæmonians, so soone as they were assumed to that state of dignitie, did discharge also the office of chiefe Priest, to the celestiall and Lacedæmonian *Iupiter*. *Alexander* the great Monarch of Greece did oftentimes offer sacrifice, giue order for their kinde of religious obseruations; and at the last commaunded diuine honours to bee done vnto himselfe.

1 *Curr.*

17

Among the Romanes this was one of their ancient royall lawes: *Sacrorum omnium potestas sub regibus esto*: Let all sacred matters bee vnder the power of Kings. Which law was stablished by their first King *Romulus*, but seemeth also to haue been more anciently in vse: insomuch as *Servius* † noteth, that *Virgil* alwaies bringeth in *Aeneas* as president both in action and drection in all offices of their religion.

‡ *Lib. 10. Æneid. super illud Virgilij. Vigilas ne deū gens? Anna? vigila.*

Whereof

Whereof *Ouid*¹ also seemeth to make mention in *1 Faß*. these words.

*Vtq; ea nunc certa est, ita rex placare
Namina lanigera coniugo debet onis.*

After *Romulus*, *Numa Popilius* performed al those sacrifices and rites^m, which afterward were commit-^m *Lin. lib. 12*
ted to *ŷ Diall Flamen*. *Dionysius Halicarnassus*ⁿ and ⁿ *Hali. lib. 1.*
Plutarch^o doe affirme, that he did beare the office of ^o *Plus in Nu-*
Pontifex: *Linie*^p writeth, that hee committed the ^p *Lin. lib 1.*
same to one of the chiefe Senators named *Marcins*. *Dic. 1.*
Of these two Kings *Cicero*^q saith: *Romulus auspicijs*, ^q *Cic. lib 2 de*
Numa sacris constitutis fundamenta iecerunt Romana
cinitatis. The Kings succeeding performed the most ^{nat. Dec.}
high and sacred rites of their religion; with whom as ^r *Lin. 1. Decad.*
Linie^r writeth, the Priests tooke often aduice, con-
cerning sacrifices and al sorts of ceremonies: Where-
upon *Dionysius Halicarnassus* affirmeth^t, that they
had the principalitie or chiefest rule of sacred matters,
and of sacrifices and that all things pertaining to diuine
worship were ordered by them.

After that the Kings were cast out of state, that 18
the chiefest in power had authoritie to giue order in
religion, it may appeare by the two decrees of *So-*
chanalia Romæ
neue in Italia
effint, si quis
iale sacrum so-
lenne ac neces-
sarium dux-
ret, nec sine re-
ligione ac pia-
culo se id omit-
tere posse, apud
pretorem vr-
nate. If it should be permitted him when a hundred
etetur, prator
senatum consu-
lerat: Si ei per-
missum esset cum in senatu centum, non minus esset, ita id sacrum fieret, dom-
ne plus quinque sacrificio interesset.

D

should

should be present at the Sacrifice.

And although the name of King at that time was hatefull to the Romanes, yet they created a King whom they called *Rex Sacrificulus*^a, or *Rex sacrificus*^b; to performe those offices of their religion, which in former times were proper to their Kings^c. His office was not annuall but perpetuall^d; which ioyned to his high title, lest it should draw him to dangerous attempts, they stripped him of all civill authoritie. He might not beare either charge in the armie^e, or magistracie in the common wealth. He might not make any oration to the people, nor deale with them about publike affayres. His authoritie was restrained only to religion; to offer sacrifices, and to determine doubts, if any did arise. His person was sacred as *Servius* noteth^f, so that neither violence nor despight might be offered vnto him: And yet the greatest *Pontifex* was preferred before him^g; insomuch as in their festiuall solemnities hee was placed next to their greatest *Pontifex*, above all the *Flamines*^h. His daughters might not be compelled to become *Vestals*ⁱ. His wife was called *Regina sacerotum*^j; who euery Calendes did offer sacrifice to *Iuno*, her head circled with a white wand of a Pomegranate tree, called *inaculum*; to whom the *Vestals* resorted vpon a certaine day in the yeere, to admonish her not to neglect the solempne rites committed to her charge.

They erected also a Colledge of *Pontifices*^k, First consisting of foure, afterwards encreased to eight, lastly by *Sylla* enlarged to fiftene^l. Their office was both to preserue and interpret all solemnities pertaining to their religion; to keepe a true record and remembrance of them: to bee carefull that no Roman ceremonie were neglected, and no externall obseruation brought in: to determine what things

were

^a *Liu. lib. 3.*

^b *Gell. lib. 10. cap. 19.*

^c *Festus Rom. peius lib. 19.*

^d *Dion. Halic. lib. 4.*

^e *Dionys. ubi s.*

^f *Plut. Probl. cap. 63.*

^g *Æneid. 8. super illud Virg. 19. Nec nō Tarquinium ceciditum Porcenna iubeat accipere.*

^h *Liu. 1. Dec. lib. 2. Dionys. lib. 5. Euseb. de sacerdot. c. 18.*

ⁱ *Gell. lib. 10. cap. 15.*

^j *Euseb. de sacerdot. Rom.*

^k *Festus Pomp. lib. 9.*

^l *Macrob. de Suid. de fast.*

^m *Liu. 1. Dec. lib. 10.*

ⁿ *Appian. Plin. secundus de vir. illust.*

^o *cap. 75.*

were sacred, and what prophane: to appoint what sacrifices were to be offered, vpon what daies, in what Temples, in what manner, and whence the charge should bee supplied¹; to decide doubtles concerning funerall obsequies, performances of vowes and oathes, obseruation of festiuall times and such like. If in any matter they did differ in iudgement, that was obserued wherein the greatest part, being three at least, did fully agree. They had also the interpretation of the Ciuill lawe^m, which for many yeeres was reputed sacred among the Romanes. They kept the *Annales* (as *Cicero* saith^m) of most memorable accidents, and archieuments of every yeere, which were termed *Annales maximi*, as *Macrobius*^o doth write; and did set them forth in a white table called *album pontificum*, out of which it was free for any man to write them. It was also a part of their charge to reparaire the bridges^p, which vntil the time that *Emilius* was Questor were made of timber^q, and not fastned together with any iron or brasse^r. These were esteemed sacred by the Romanes, and if they were in any part decayed, they might not be repaired but with sacrifices & other ceremonious obseruancies. From hence it is commonly supposed that they were called *Pontifices*; but *Scuola* (as *Varro*^l saith) did more properly deriue that name from *posse* and *facere*, not only in regard of their eminent authoritie, but because the word *facere* in ancient Latine did signifie to sacrifice, as *Vigil* speaketh:

Cum facerem vitula.

The principal of this Colledge was called *Pontifex Maximus*; who, as *Iustus Pompeius*^r and *Valerius*^l Lib. 11. *Maximus*^o do write, was the greatest Iudge in their religion. And although other priests could not beare Empire in the armie, or office in the state^r, or

¹ *Lia. lib. 1.*

^m *Cic. de legib. lib. 2.*

^o *Cic. de orat. lib. 2.*

^o *Lib. 3. Saturn. ca. 2.*

^r *Varro. lib. 1. de ling. lat.*

Plat. in Numm.

^q *Martianus*

in topographia

vet. Rom.

^r *Halscar. lib. 3*

Or. 5. Plin. lib.

36. cap. 11.

^l *De ling. lat.*

^o *Lib. 1. cap. 1.*

^r *Plut. Probl.*

cap. 113.

cipally depend vpon his direction. And yet this au-
thoritie was often borne (as hath been said) by the
highest ciuill Officers of that Common wealth: the
election of him pertained to the people: and pro-
uocation or appeale did lie also from him to the
people. For so *Liuto* writeth that a contention did
arise, betwixt *C. Scruilius* the greatest *Pontifex*, and
L. Corneliu *Dolabella*, a *Duumvir*, because the
Pontifex commaunded him to abdicate his office,
that he might be inaugurated *Rex sacrificus*, in place
of *Cornelius Dolabella*. This when the *Duumvir* re-
fused to doe, the *Pontifex* set a fine vpon him; for
which cause hee appealed and brought the matter
before the people. Many tribes being assembled &
the difference debated on both sides, they comman-
ded the *Duumvir* to bee obedient to the *Pontifex*; and
yet they remitted his fine, in case hee should a-
bandon his office. In the meane time the heauens
were covered with darke and thicke cloudes, which
brake forth into a terrible tēpest. This being taken
for ominous, the assemblie dissolued; and the au-
thority to inaugurate was taken from the *Pontifex*.

The Common-wealth of y^e Romans being chan-
ged againe to the government of one, the chiefest
authoritie in all affaires depended vpon the Empe-
rours: For so *Tertullian* acknowledgeth the Hea-
then Emperours to be "second and inferiour only to
God, before all, and aboue all. Again: he saith, "Wee
worship the Emperour as a man next vnto God, and in-
feriour onl^y to God. So did *T. Eleutherius* in those
times Bishop of Rōme, write vnto *Lutius* King of
Britaine; "You are Gods Vicar within your owne
Realme, according to the Prophet *Dauid*.

Augustus annexed the greatest pontificate to the
imperiall dignitie, to whom the people by the law
of Royalty transferred all their power as well in reli-
gious

Cicer. in orat.
de L. Aeraria.
& in lib. de a-
mic. tia. Hali-
car. lib. 2. Pa-
ter. lib. 2. Suet.
in Nerone. ca. 2
Lib. 4. Decad.
lib. 10.

19

Tertul. in apo-
log.

A Deo secun-
di, post cum
primi, ante om-
nes & super
omnes.

Tert. ad Scap-
ulam. Colimus
Imperatorem
ut hominem a
Deo secundū
solo Deo mino-
rem.

Epist. Elabe-
ry citat. inter
ll. E. 1.

Vos estis Vi-
carini Dei in
regno, iuxta
prophetam Re-
gium.

^a *Jn C. Casare.*
ca. 12.
^b *Ad l. 3. & 6.*
Excid.

^c *In Galba. l. 8.*
^d *In Claudio.*
cap. 22.

Tacit. Annal.
lib. 3.

^e *Tacit. lib. 14.*
^f *Veg. lib. 2. c. 5*
^g *& 6.*
^h *Qui statuas.*
ⁱ *non contra-*
^j *bis. D. ad L. Iul.*
^k *maiest.*
^l *Tacit. lib. 3.*
^m *In Tiberio.*
cap. 58.

ⁿ *De benefic.*
lib. 3.

gious as in ciuill affaires. *Suetonius* writeth ^a, that *C. Caesar* was at one time greatest *Pontifex*, and also *Augur*. *Seruius* ^b testifieth, that *C. Caesar* being *Pontifex*, *M. Terrentius Varro* did write vnto him a booke, concerning their sacred and religious rites. Again, *Suetonius* ^c affirmeth, that *Galba* did beare three Priest-hoods. The same *Suetonius* ^d saith, that *Claudius Caesar* had the Priest-hood in such honorable estimation, that he neuer made choise or nomination of Priests, vntill he had been sworne. In regard of this connexion of the Empire and pontificate, *Tacitus* did write: *nunc deum munere summum pontificem summum hominum esse.*

The greatest pontificate was also borne by *Vespasian*, *Traiane*, and diuers other Romane Emperors: the Maiestie of which Emperors was esteemed most sacred, in so much as diuine both titles & adprations were giuen vnto them. Their Statues and Images were sacred and adored, as ^e *Tacitus* and ^f *Veg-*
^g *zini* do report; it was treason for any man either to pul away, or to violate those who did flie vnto them; to melt them also, and also to sell them ^h. *Tacitus* writeth ⁱ, that *L. Ennius* was accused of treason, for melting the Image of the Prince: which accusation although *Tiberius* did forbid to proceed, yet *Suetonius* affirmeth ^j, that he commanded one to be arraigned, for taking the head from the statue of *Augustus*, and setting another vpon the same. This kind of accusation grew to that degree, that it was capitall for a man, to beare the Image of the Prince stamped in money, or engrauen in a Ring, to any vncleane or vnseemely place. Yea, *Seneca* saith ^k, that vnder the Empire of *Tiberius*, a certaine noble man was accused of treason, for mouing his hand to his priestie parts, in making vrin, when he did weare a ring vpon his finger, whereon was ingrauen the Image of the
the

the Prince: So great was the reuerence borne vnto them.

Vpon this generall both authoritie and vse, for Princes to manage diuine affaires, *St. Hierom*¹ hath said, ¹ *The priuiledge to offer sacrifice was due to the first borne, but mozt of all vnto Kings.* ² *In Tob. cap. x. = Prilegium offerendi primogenitis, vel maximo Regibus debebatur.*

And yet in these times, the Emperours referred many matters pertaining to their religion, to be determined by the Senate; partly for expedition and ease, partly for that they would not draw all authoritie from the Senate at once. So *Tacitus*³ writeth of a decree of the Senate, for expelling of the ceremonies of the Egyptians & of the Iewes⁴. Like-⁵ wise vnder *Claudius* a decree of the Senate was made, that the *Pontifex* should consider what ceremony of the *Aruspices* should be retained⁶. So *Tiberius* referred to the Senate whether *Christ* should be received among the *Romane Gods*, which in no case they would consent to decree; because he had been worshipped for God, without the publike authority of the Empire. The like is reported to haue bin both purposed and propounded by *Hadrian*; who commanded also that Temples should be built in euery Citie, without any Idols. The like purpose in *Alexander Seuerus* is affirmed by *Lampridius*⁷ to haue been crossed, vpon assurance made vnto him, from those who gaue answer by inspection of *Entrails*, that if *Christ* should be received for God, all men would become Christians, and the other Temples should be forsaken.

But, when he that would not be worshipped with other Gods, was both admitted and adored for God alone; when the Christian faith was publicly embraced in the *Romane* state; religion was both advanced and ordered by Imperiall authoritie. For so *Socrates*⁸ testifieth in these words: *From that time when* ⁹ *In Proem. lib. 5.*

¶ In the same.

¶ In the same.

¶ In the same.

¶ Ad Pop. An-

tiost. hom. 2.

¶ Summita-

tem & caput.

¶ Patrem vltum

super terram

non habet.

¶ Debes Impe-

rator incun-

dantur aduer-

tere, regiam

potestatem ti-

bi, non solum

ad mundi regi-

men, sed maxi-

me ad ecclesia

praesidium esse

collatum.

¶ Epist. lib. 3.

¶ Epist. lib. 3.

¶ Contra Par-

men. lib. 13. su-

per Imperato-

rem non est nisi

solus Deus qui

fecit Impera-

torem.

¶ In respons.

¶ Orient.

¶ Imperator, ut

communis in-

synodus exis-

sens & nomi-

natus synodali-

bus praesentis,

& ro-

bur tribuit:

ecclesiasticos

ordinet componit,

& legem dat vite politicae,

eorum qui altari seruiunt.

¶ Vt uno

verbo dicā, solo sacrificandi excepto ministerio,

reliqua pontificalia privilegia Im-

perator representat.

when the Emperours began to be Christians¹, the af-
fares of the Church depended vpon them; in so much as
the greatest Councils were alwaies assembled by their ap-
pointment. So Chrysostome² calleth the Emperour,
the height and head of all men in the world: and one
that hath no equall vpon earth³. And so did Leo the
first write to the Emperour Leo, that royall powet
was giuen him, not only for gouernment of the world,
but especially for the safeguard of the Church. And so
likewise Gregorie-Bishop of Rome affirmed⁴, that
power is giuen to Princes from heauen, not only ouer
Souldiers but ouer Priests. Optatus saith⁵: there is
no man aboue the Emperour but only God who made the
Emperour. But this is most euidently declared, in the
answere of Demetrius Chomatennus⁶ in these words:
The Emperour being both in common estimation, and
in very truth a skilfull gouernour, is president and gi-
ueth strength to synodall sentences; he setteth Ecclesia-
sticall orders in forme, he giveth law for the life and ci-
uill cariage of those who serue at the Altar. And againe:
to speake in one word, the office of sacrificing only ex-
cepted, the Emperour representeth the other priuiledges
of a Bishop. And therefore St. Augustine⁷ enuigh-
ed against the heresie of the Donatists; in that they
affirmed, that the Church ought not to vse either
lawes or any assistance from Princes. And that speech
of Donatus⁸ was iustly condemned. Quid est impe-
ratori cum ecclesia? what hath the Emperour to do with
the Church?

Two parts in the Church may separatly be confi-
dered, the externall forme, which consisteth in the
politickall gouernment thereof; and the essentiall
forme, consisting in the true substance and foundati-

on of feith. Concerning the first, we may find many things aunciently ordered in the Church by Christian Emperours. For so *Constantino* the great, *Ann.* ² *novel. 43. & 49. in princ.* *Florius* ¹ and *Iustinian* ¹ the first established order, for expence and forme of funerals. The Emperours *Gratian*, *Valentinian* the second, and *Theodosius* the great ¹, prohibited that any corpses should be interred within the seates of the Apostles or Martyrs. *Honorius* and *Theodosius* ordeined, how many Deacons should be in the Church of *Constantinople* ¹; and what immunities every Church should enjoy ¹. *Leo* ¹ *45. C. co.* and *Anthemius* forbad alienation of lands pertaining to the Church ¹. *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius* did prohibite ¹ that any should be received for a *Diaconisse*, who was not aged above fiftie yeeres; which was afterwards confirmed by *Iustinian* ¹. *Honorius* and *Arcadius* forbad ¹, that Clerkes should haue any thing to do with publike actions or pleas. *Iustinian* added ¹, that they should abstaine from play, and from all open spectacles and shewes. *Leo* and *Anthemius* ¹ enioyned Monkes and religious persons, not to depart out of their Monasteries, and to liue in that modesty and sincerity wherto the imperiall lawes did bind them: and that no Clergie-man should be ordained by way of corruption ¹: or ¹ *l. 30. C. co.* conuented in Iudgment, in a place farre distant from his abode ¹. *Iustinian* ordeined ¹, that vpon a certaine day in the weeke Bishops should go and visite the prisons, to enquire for what cause every prisoner is detained, and to admonish the Magistrates, to execute iustice. In another constitution ¹ he ordeined, what manner of Clerkes should be ordained in the Church; that Clerkes should not remoue themselves from a lesse Church, to a greater; and that the rents of the Church should be expended to godly vses and acts. Hee appointed also ¹ the time for monastically

• nouell. 6.

b nouell. 58.

c nouell. 117.

d l. 8. c. de re-
pud.

e nouel. 146.

f l. 1. c. de vet.

g iur. enuc legu

authoritas &

diuinas & hu-

manas res bene

disponit.

h nouel. 133.

i p. 11. 2. p. 11. 1. 1.

k iur. 2. 1. 1. 1.

l. 1. 1. 1. 1.

m lib. 1. epist. 100

n ad hoc po-

testas super

omnes homines

dominoru meo-

rum pictati celi-

tus data est, &c

o Espene. com.

p in Tit. 3. digres.

q. 10. Gregorius

magnus agno-

scibat, Impera-

toribus concess-

um esse domi-

nari sacerdoti-

bis.

r Balsam in Con-

cil. Chalced.

cap. 11.

s c. Principes

23. 4. 5.

nastical profession, and the rules which Monkes should leade. He established his ordinance ^a for the election, life and behaiour of Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall persons; that they reside vpon their charge; that they resort not to the Court, except they be expressly called; that they celebrate not diuine offices in any place which is not consecrated to the seruice of God. ^b He declared what causes should be lawfull for diuorce and separation of mariage ^c; as *Theodosius* the yonger, and *Valent.* the third had done before him ^d. He ordained also that the holy Scriptures should be read in the vulgar tongue, and appointed what translations should be in vse ^e.

It would bee both tedious and vnnessearie to make long stay vpon reherfall of those imperiall lawes, which haue bin both receiued and reuerenced for government of the Church. For *Iustinian* professed ^f, that by authoritie of the lawes, both diuine and humane affaires were well ordered; and againe, ^g there is nothing but may be examined by authoritie of the Emperour; for hee receiueith from God a generall principallitie and gouernment ouer all men. The same is acknowledge by Pope *Gregorie*, in his epistle to *Mauritius* ^h. To this end is power ouer all persons giuen from heauen vnto my Lord, for assistance of good men, and enlargement of the way to heauen. Whereupon *Espenceus* saith ⁱ; that *Gregorie* the great, did ingenioulsie acknowledge a soueraignetic in Emperours ouer priests. So *Balsamon* ^k hath said, that the Emperours had power to appoint patriarchall sees, according to the power giuen them from aboue. Whereto doth that of *Isodora* agree ^l; Princes of the world haue their authoritie and power in the Church, that the ecclesiasticall discipline should bee held in strengtb; that they who will not obserue it by admonition of the priest, should be constrained by force of the Magistrate. Yea, diuers

of

of the papall decrees, ifor ordering of Ecclesiasticall
 affaires, were lawes made by Christian Emperours; 22
 of which lawes many are yet extant in the *Codex* of
Theodosius. The Canon *Indicantem* ^{13. q. 5.}, expressing the
 office of a Iudge in cognisance of causes, attributed
 by *Gratian* to Pope *Eleutherius*, was made by the
 Emperour *Constantinus* ^{1. 1. c. de lu-}. The Canon, *si quis Iratus* ^{dic. in c. Theod.},
 attributed to Pope *Fabian*, against accusers, is a law ^{2. q. 3. de pz.}
 of the same Emperour *Constantine*, in the *Codex* of ^{di. 1.}
Theodosius. The Canons which goe vnder the names ^{3. q. 6. c. 1.}
 of the same *Fabian* ^{1.}, of *Sixtus* ^{1.}, and of *Hadrian* ^{1.},
 concerning the same subiect, are found to bee made ^{3. q. 6. c. 16.}
 by *Gratian* the sonne of *Valentinian* the first. The ^{17. c. 2. q. 8.}
 decrees of Pope *Caius* ^{6. 4.}, and of Pope *Iohn* ^{2.}, for resti-
 tution of Church goods, taken from Bishops, when ^{2. q. 3. c. 3.}
 they were forced from their sea, are the *Edictes* of the ^{c. Episcopis. 3.}
 same Emperour *Gratian*. The Canon *quiritione* ^{q. 5.},
 attributed to Pope *Damassus*, for order in accusati-
 ons, is comprised in *Theodosius Code*, vnder the name
 of the same Emperour. The Canon *nullus* ^{c. reintegran-}, vnder ^{da. q. 2.}
 the name of *Pelagius* was made by the Emperours ^{3. q. 9.}
Honorius and *Arcadius*. The Canon *quisquis* ^{2. q. 7.}, vn-
 der the name of *Emtychian*, was promulged by the ^{2. q. 8.}
 Emperours *Honorius* and *Theodosius*. The Canon
consanguineos ^{2.}, for separation of marriage contrac-
 ted within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity,
 is a constitution of the Emperour *Constantine* the
 great. The Canon *Priuiligia* ^{2.}, for confirmation of ^{25. q. 2.}
 the priuiledges of the Church, vnder the name of
Anacletus, is a constitution of the Emperours *Theo-*
dosius and *Valentinian*. In a word, the volume of de-
 crees is filled with diuers constitutions of Christian
 Emperours, either assumed by Popes, or attributed
 vnto them, without expressing either the name or
 authoritie of the Emperours. And touching the rest,
 E 3 Pope

^b p. i. ext. de
iuram. calum.
^c Imperator
Iustinianus de-
creuit, ut cano-
nes patrū vim
legum habere
oporteat.

23

^d Niceph. lib. 8.
cap. 14.
^e Euseb. lib. 2.
de vita Con-
stantini.

24

^f c. futuram.
22. q. 1.
^g Constantinus
presidens san-
ctæ synodo, que
apud Nicæam
congregata est.
^h Socras. lib. 1.
cap. 6.
ⁱ l. 2. c. de sum-
trin.
^k Niceph. lib. 12
ca. 10.
^l Obsecramus
clementiam
tuam, ut, quem-
admodum lise-
ris hæreticis
ecclesiam, qui-
bus nos conuo-
casti, ita fina-
lem conclusio-
nem nostrorum
decretorū cor-
robores senten-
tia tua & st-
gillo.

Pope *Honorius* ^b acknowledged, that it was by de-
cree of the Emperour *Iustinian* ^c, that the Canons of
the Fathers should haue the force of lawes.

Now, when any difference did arise in matters of
faith; when any great schisme or disturbance was
maintained in the church; the Emperours did vse to
assemble their Bishops in common Councell, and
those things that were by them decreed, were after-
wards confirmed by Imperiall constitution. So *Ni-
cephorus* ^d and *Eusebius* ^e doe write, that *Constantine*
the great, hauing employed *Hosius* Bishop of *Cordi-
ba*, for composing the difference betwixt *Alexander*
Bishop of Alexandria, and *Arrinus*; wherewith the
Church was exceedingly disturbed; and perceiuing
his good purpose thereby nothing aduanced; as-
sembled by his authority the Councell of Nice in Bi-
thynia, which he honored with his presence, and de-
frayed the charge of 308th Bishops that were called
to that Councell. Of whom *Eustachius* Bishop of
Antioch, or rather (as the Canon law affirmeth ^f)
Constantine himselfe was president ^g. The forme of
faith agreed vpon in this Councell, was presently
confirmed by *Constantine*, and both imparted and
imposed vpon others, who had not bin present; and
charge giuen vnder paine of death, that none should
secretly preferue any of the bookes of *Arrinus* from
the fire ^h. Afterwards the same faith was both de-
clared and confirmed by constitution of the Emper-
ours *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* ⁱ.

The generall Councell of *Constantinople* was as-
sembled against the heretic of *Macedonius*, by *Theo-
dorus* ^k the great. The Bishops assembled in this
Councell wrote thus in humble maner vnto the Em-
perour *Theodosius*; ^l We beseech your Maestie, that as
you haue honored the Church, by your letters, wherewith

you

you have called vs together, so it may please you to confirm the small conclusion of our decrees with your sentence, and with your seale.

The generall Council of Ephesus was assembled by authoritie of *Theodosius* the yonger ⁼ against the ⁼ *Nicene lib.* heretic of *Nestorius*. The decrees of this Council, ^{14. ca. 34.} together with the decrees of the Council of Nice, containing the profession of Christian Faith, was confirmed by a constitution of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* ⁼, whereby also the writings of *Nestorius* ⁼ *l. 3. c. de sum. trin.* are condemned to the fire.

The fourth generall Council was appointed by authoritie of the Emperour *Martian* ⁼, first to be ⁼ *Euseb. lib. 1. ca. 2.* held at Nice, afterwards vpon certaine occasions it was assembled at Chalcedon. In this Council, *Eusebius* ⁼ writeth, that both the Bishops and tempo- ⁼ *lib. 2. cap. 4.* rall Iudges did oftentimes suspend their decrees in this sort; *Vnto vs it seemeth right* ⁼, if it shall also like ⁼ *et si tractatus* our most vertuous and godly Lord the Emperour. And ⁼ in the end it is thus concluded; ⁼ all our doings being ⁼ *et si tractatus* referred to the Emperours Maestie. Lastly, the decrees of this Countcell touching Christian Faith, were confirmed by a publike constitution of the same Emperour *Martian* ⁼. ⁼ *l. 4. c. de sum. trin.*

The fifth ecumenicall Council was assembled by *Iustinian* the first ⁼; and the sixth by *Constantine* ⁼ the third; both of them in the Citie of Constantinople. The last of these Councils *Constantine* subscribed, after that he had commaunded that ten Bishops of ⁼ *et si tractatus* the East, and ten of the West should repaire to his Court, and open to him the decrees of the Council: ⁼ *et si tractatus* That he might consider (saith *Sozomenus*) whether they were agreed according to the Scriptures, and that he might further determine and conclude what ⁼ *et si tractatus* were best to be done.

In brieft, Cardinall *Casarius* ⁼ doth acknowledge ⁼ *l. 3. ca. 16.* that

7 Sciendum est
quod in uni-
uersalibus octo
concilijs semper
inuenio impe-
ratores, & Iu-
dices suos, cum
senatu prima-
sum habuisse.
a Conc. Ro. 3.
a Miramur
quicquam ten-
tatum fuisse si-
ne nobis; nam
viventis nostro
presbytero sine
nobis nihil ten-
tari oportuit.
b Niceph. in
presat. ad E-
manuel.
c Tu es dux
professionis fi-
dei nostre &c.

25

a Marc. 9. 35.

Luc. 9. 46.

a Can. 8.

f Plat. in vita
Bonifacii 3.g Sabel. Ancyd.
b lib. 6.

26

b In vita Boni-
facii 3.

i Can. 28.

that he did euermore find 7, that the Emperours and their Iudges, with the Senate, had the primacie, and office of presidence in the eight generall Councils. In regard whereof Odoacer ^a did in this sort expostulate with Pope Symachus, and the Clergie of Rome. ^a We marueile that any thing hath been attempted without vs; for without vs nothing should haue been done, our Priest being aline. In like manner Nicephorus ^b did write to the Emperour Emanuel Paleologus; ^c You are the captaine of the profession of our faith, you haue reformed the Temple of God from Marchants and ex-changers of the heauenly doctrine, and from heretickes, by the word of God.

During this time, a stiffe strife did arise betwixt the Bishops of Rome, and the Bishops of Constanti-nople (as did once among the Disciples of Christ ^d) whether of them should be greatest. In the Councell of Nice it had been decreed ^e, that the first place should be giuen to the Sea of Rome, the second to Alexandria, and the third to Antioch: for the Citie of Constantinople at that time was not built, neither was Hierusalem then a patriarchall Sea. But after that Constantinople was aduanced to be the head of the Empire, the Bishop thereof did claime prerogatiue before all the rest; affirming, as Platina ^f, and out of him g Sabellicus doe write, that where the head of the Empire was, there also should be the principall Sea. The Bishop of Rome answered, that the Citie of Rome, from whence a colonie was brought to Con-stantinople, was in right to be esteemed the head of the Empire: for the Græcians did vse to stile their Prince ^h *ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκρατορίας*, Emperour of the Romans: and they themselues were also called *Ρωμαῖοι* Romans.

In this contention Platina ^h affirmeth; that di-uers Emperours fauoured the Bishops of Constanti-nople. In the Councell of Chalcedon ⁱ it was de-creed,

creed, that the Church of Constantinople should stand in one degree of dignitie, and enioy equall privilege with the Church of Rome. The same equality was also decreed in the second Councell of Constantinople^k, and confirmed by constitution of *Honorius* and *Theodosius*^l. By a constitution of *Leo* and *Ashemius*^m, the Bishop of Constantinople is declared to haue precedence of placeⁿ before all others: which law was alleadged by *Photius*^o to confirme the primacie of the Patriarch of Constantinople^p. *Iustinian* declareth^q that the Church of Constantinople was the head of all other Churches. Which constitution is omitted in some editions of *Iustinian's Code*. *Mauritius*^r admonished *Gregorie* the first, to beare obedience to *Iohn* Bishop of Constantinople.

Afterwards, Pope *Gregorie* the third, with much adoe (as *Platina* writeth) obtained of *Phocas*, Emperour, or rather (as *Zonaras* and *P. Diaconus*^t do describe him) the wilde, drunken, bloodie, adulterous tyrant of Constantinople, that the Sea of Rome should be the chiefe of all other Churches. But this was an errour in the Emperours of Constantinople; first, to settle so great dignitie and prerogative in a place, far distant from the principal seat and strength of the Empire. Secondly, to permit affaires of so high nature to depend vpon direction of any one within their Empire. For, by this meanes the Bishops of Rome did steale into such strength with the common people, that by their Interdictions only, they were of power to withdraw them from paying tribute, and bearing allcagance to the Emperours of Constantinople: vpon occasion, that *Leo* surnamed *Iconomachus*, had caused the Images of Saints to be taken downe. Finally, they pulled the west-part of the Empire from their subiection, and left the residue,

^k *In trip. hist. lib. 9. cap. 13.*

^l *1. 6. C. de sacros. eccles.*

^m *unic. C. de priuileg. vrb. Const. lib. 11.*

ⁿ *1. decernimus C. de sacros. eccles.*

^o *enstas.*

^p *Nomoc. tit. 1. cap. 5.*

^q *1. Constantino-politana 24. C. de sacros. eccl.*

^r *Constantino-politana ecclesia omniū aliarum est caput.*

^t *Platin. in vita Gregory 1.*

27

^t *In vit. Phoca.*

due, with that mortall maim, to be a pray to the barbarous infidels.

28

The west Empire flourished for a time, first in France, and afterwards in Germanie; and the most apparant cause whereby it was broken and beaten downe, was the absolute & vnlimited power, which the Bishops of Rome challenged, principally in Ecclesiasticall affaires, and consequently in all. For, by entitling themselues the *Vicars* of Iesus Christ; the Spouse of the Church; the Soueraigne Bishop, and Prince of all others; the Maisters and Lords of all the world; (for these are the titles which *Innocent* the third, *Boniface* the eight, *Clement* the fifth and diuers others haue assumed) by exempting also both the persons and goods of all the Clergie, frō secular subiection; and by binding all men to their obedience; in matters which concerne the soule; they haue alwaies been able to stirre vp, not onlie weightie warres against the Emperours, but also most stiff and ynnatural rebellions. Which disordered demeanour *Carion* accounteth the only cause, that brought the Empire to a feeble state.

*Car. lib. 4. sec.
teribus pontifi-
cum hoc impe-
rium langue-
factum est.
Luit. prand.
lib. 6. ca. 6.
Cuspinian &
Theodo. de Ni-
hem. in vita
Qibo 3.*

So *John* the third combined with *Berengar* the third, and *Adalbar* his sonne, who pretended themselves to be Kings of Italy, to make head against the Emperour *Otho* the great. Pope *John* the eighteenth made league with *Crescentius*, and mutined the people against the Emperour *Otho* the third. *Benedict. 9.* to stay *Henrie* the blacke from entering into Italy, stirred *Peter* King of Hungarie to beare himselfe for Emperour; to whom he sent a crowne with this inscription.

Petra dedite Romanam Petro, tibi Papa coronam.

Gregorie the seuenth, who was the first that enterprised to cause himselfe to be elected and consecrated, without the consent and against the pleasure of the Emperour;

Emperour; and who set forth a decree, whereby he excommunicated all those who should affirme, that either the consent or knowledge of the Emperour was herein necessarie; opposed against the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, first *Rodulph* Duke of *Suauie*, giuing charge to the Archbishops of *Ments* and of *Collen* to consecrate him Emperour: to whom also he sent a crowne with this inscription.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

Afterwards, weary of nothing so much as of quiet, he stirred *Echert* Marquis of *Saxonic* against the same Emperour. *Galasius* the twelfth raised against *Henrie* the fifth Emperour, the most part of his subjects, and especially the Archbishop of *Ments*; whom he so strongly seconded with the Normanes that were in *Sicilie*, that the Emperour was constrained to quit his quarrell, and to yeeld the collation of Bishopricks to the Pope. *Innocent* the second raised against *Lothaire* the twelfth, *Roger* the Norman, whom he inuested in the Duchie of *Pouille*, which the Emperour claimed to be a fiffe of the Empire. At the last the contention was composed by mediation of *S. Bernard*, who then liued, and was with the Emperour; wherein the Pope sped so well, that he was ioyned with the Emperour in holding *Bauier*. The same *Innocent* the second raised *Guelphus* Duke of *Bauier* against *Conrade* the third, whom hee aided with monie and all other convenient meanes. This warre was so villanouslie cruell, that it gaue beginning to the two factions of the *Guelphes*, who tooke their name from this Duke of *Bauier*; and of the *Gibelins*, so called of *Wiebling*, which was the place whese the Emperour *Conrade* had bin brought vp.

*Bart. in tract.
de Guelph. &
Gib.*

Against *Fredericke Barbarossa*, who succeeded *Con-*

F

rade,

vade, *Hadrian* the fourth raised them of Milan, and the other *Lumbards*; *Alexander* the third stirred the Dukes of Saxon and of Auſtrich, aiding them with all his power to intertaine diſquiet in *Almaine*. Pope *Celeſtine* the third excommunicated *Henrie* the ſixth Emperour, the ſucceſſour and ſonne of *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*; and depriued him of all his dignities: making this the meanes to auoide him out of *Italie* into *Almaine*. Againſt *Philip*, brother vnto *Henrie* the ſixth, Pope *Innocent* the third cauſed *Otho* Duke of Saxoni to be elected Emperour; whereby the Empire was embroiled with a bloodie warre. Againſt *Fredericke* the ſecond, Pope *Honorius* the third raised the *Lumbards* in rebellion, adioyning the *Sicilians* to the ſide, and the greateſt part of the other *Italians*. All theſe troubles were ſo tempeſtuous, that the Emperour *Radulph* of *Huſſurge* could neuer be perſwaded to paſſe the *Alpes* for his coronation; affirming; that *Italie* was the denne of the *Lion*, whereof the entrance was faire, but the iſſue fearefull.

Clement the fifth armed and oppoſed *Robert* King of *Sicilie* againſt the Emperour *Henrie* the ſeuenth; becauſe hee would not doe homage and ſweare faith to the Sea of *Rome*: and in the end cauſed him to bee empoiſoned by a *Iacobite*, in giuing him the ſacred hoſt. What troubles had *Lewes* of *Bauier* againſt *Frederick* of Auſtrich, who was elected Emperour at the ſame time with him, by the faction of Pope *Iohn* the 22? The ſame troubles were continued by Pope *Clement* the ſixth, who cauſed *Charles* the fourth King of *Boheme*, to be elected Emperour; and yet he could not enioy the Empire vntill after the deceaſe of *Lewes*. This *Charles* was a weake Prince, both in counſaile and courage; who in fauour

of the Popes did extremely both enfeeble and abase the Empire of Rome. *Nauclerus* writeth, that he entred the citie of Rome on foote, in derision whereof a certaine Senatour began a speech which he made to the people with these words: *Ecce Rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus*; *Petrarch*, who lived at that time, did also write betwene scorne and disdain of this deiection of the imperiall Maiestie.

I omit the tragedies which *Eugenius* the fourth raised against the Emperour *Sigismund*, principally to impeach the Councell of *Basil*. I omit that which *Paul* the second did to chase *Frederick* the third out of Italie. Generally they alwaies endeaoured to endamage the Emperors; not onely as hating them, (for so *Guicciardine* ^a saith y it grew into a prouerb; *It is proper to the Church to hate the Casars*) but as fearing to be endamaged by them. In the end, partly by opposing enemies, and partly by rayling rebellions against the Emperours, the Popes haue bin able to expell their gouernment out of Italy. Whereof our countrie man *Sanders* ^b in this sort hath written: *It is a thing more admirable then can be vttered, and able to make a man astonished, that when the most puissant Emperours did for many ages display all their forces to no purpose, for drining the Roman Bishops from the citie of Rome; now to the contrarie, the Roman Bishops without any power, haue rained the Roman Emperours from the tower of the Empire, and made themselves Lords of the Palaces of Casars, and turned the whole citie into their proper power.*

This is true (*Maller Sanders*) which you haue said; but neither is it worthie of any wonder, neither is it all that which the Popes haue done. What maruaile is it that most puissant Emperours could neuer preuaile against the Bishops of Rome, when their

^a Guice. in comment. polit.

^b Sand. lib. 4. de clau. Danid.

Stupenda rei, & supra quam dici potest admiranda, ut

cum potentissimi quique imperatores per aliquot secula

omnem suam vim in exterminandis ex

urbe Roma pontificibus

Romanis, frustra explicuissent; nunc e-

contrario, pontifices Romanis absque ulla

vi, Romanos Imperatores ex-

arce Imperij semouerunt; pa-

latius Caesarum atque adeo tota

urbe in sua potestatem con-

uertit.

vade, *Hadrian* the fourth raised them of Milan, and the other Lumbards; *Alexander* the third stirred the Dukes of Saxon and of Austrich, aiding them with all his power to intertaine disquiet in *Almaine*. Pope *Celestine* the third excommunicated *Henrie* the sixth Emperour, the successeur and sonne of *Fredericke Barbarossa*; and deprived him of all his dignities: making this the meanes to auoide him out of *Italie* into *Almaine*. Against *Philip*, brother vnto *Henrie* the sixth, Pope *Innocent* the third caused *Otho* Duke of Saxonia to be elected Emperour; whereby the Empire was embroiled with a bloodie warre. Against *Fredericke* the second, Pope *Honorius* the third raised the *Lumbards* in rebellion, adioyning the *Sicilians* to the side, and the greatest part of the other *Italians*. All these troubles were so tempestuous, that the Emperour *Radulph* of *Hapsurge* could neuer be perswaded to passe the Alpes for his coronation; affirming; that *Italie* was the denne of the Lion, whereof the entrance was faire, but the issue fearefull.

Clement the fifth armed and opposed *Robert* King of *Sicilie* against the Emperour *Henrie* the seuenth; because hee would not doe homage and sweare faith to the Sea of Rome: and in the end caused him to bee empoisoned by a *Iacobite*, in giuing him the sacred host. What troubles had *Lewes* of *Bauier* against *Frederick* of *Austrich*, who was elected Emperour at the same time with him, by the faction of Pope *Iohn* the 22? The same troubles were continued by Pope *Clement* the sixth, who caused *Charles* the fourth King of *Boheme*, to be elected Emperour; and yet he could not enioy the Empire vntill after the decease of *Lewes*. This *Charles* was a weake Prince, both in counsaile and courage; who in fauour
of

of the Popes did extreamely both enfeeble and a-
buse the Empire of Rome. *Naucernus* writeth, that Gen. 46
he entred the citie of Rome on foote, in derision
whereof a certaine Senatour began a speech which
he made to the people with these words: *Ecce Rex*
tuus venit tibi mansuetus; *Petrarch*, who lived at
that time, did also write betweene scorne and
disdaine of this deiection of the imperiall Maiestie.

I omit the tragedies which *Eugenius* the fourth
raised against the Emperour *Sigismund*, principally
to impeach the Councell of *Basil*. I omit that which
Paul the second did to chase *Frederick* the third out
of Italie. Generally they alwaies endeavoured to
endamage the Emperours; not onely as hating them,
(for so *Guicciardine* ^a saith y it grew into a proverbe; *Guicci. in com-
ment. polit.
b Sand. lib. 4. de
clau. David.
It is proper to the Church to hate the Caesars) but as
fearing to be endamaged by them. In the end, partly
by opposing enemies, and partly by rayling rebel-
lions against the Emperours, the Popes have bin a-
ble to expell their government out of Italy. Where-
of our countrie man *Sanders* ^b in this sort hath writ-
ten: *It is a thing more admirable then can be uttered*,
and able to make a man astonished, that when the most
puissant Emperours did for many ages display all their
forces to no purpose, for driving the Roman Bishops from
the citie of Rome; now to the contrarie, the Roman Bi-
shops without any power, have removed the Roman Em-
perours from the tower of the Empire, and made them-
selues Lords of the Palaces of Caesars, and turned the
whole citie into their proper power. Stupenda res,
& supra quam
dici potest ad-
miranda, ut
cum potentissi-
mi quique im-
peratores per
aliquot secula
omnem suam
vim in exter-
minandis ex-
pontificibus
Romanis, fru-
stra explicuis-
sent; nunc e-
contrario, pon-
tifices Roma-
ni absq. ulla
vi Romanos
Imperatores ex-
arce Imperij se-
moverunt; pa-
latijs Caesarum
atque adeo to-
ta urbe in sua
potestatem con-

This is true (*Matther Sanders*) which you have said;
but neither is it worthie of any wonder, neither is it
all that which the Popes haue done. What mar-
uaile is it that most puissant Emperours could neuer
preuaile against the Bishops of Rome, when their

owne subiects were perswaded, that they drew their swordes against heaven, and made offer (like those Giants of whom the Poets write) to scale the skies, and to pull God out of his throne? Where subiects haue bin of other opiniō, there Princes haue preuailed against many Popes. Againe, what necessity had the Popes to vie force of armes, when the consciences of men were vnder their commaund? whilest this rule held good, cloisters and Colledges were in stead of Castles vnto them; and religious persons were in stead of many armies. These were their garrisons, these their soldiers; these quelled the courage of all their enemies, by thundring forth threats against those who disobeyed them; not of death, which might be peradventure either contemned or else auoyded; but of damnation, which as it is most terrible, so was it held for this cause vnauoydable. For so *Boniface* the eight decreed, that vpon necessity of saluation all men must be subiect to the Bishop of Rome. These forces were plāted within euery state, and by these might any state be supplanted.

*In extrauag.
vnam sanctam.
Porro subesse
Rom. Pont. om-
nem humanam
creaturam de-
claramus, dici-
mus, diffinimus
& pronuntia-
mus omnino es-
se de necessita-
te salutis.*

** Tibi. dominus.
§ 3. diff. c. ve-
nerabilem. de
elect. Ab in c
licet. n. §. de su-
comp.*

By these meanes the Bishops of Rome were easily able; not onelic to driue the Romane Emperours from the chiefe tower and seate of the Empire, but also, making one wrong the cause of another, to reduce them to a very low degree, both of power and of authoritie within Almaine; and to hold them as no better then vassalls to their Sea*. For, after that eight Emperours had been excommunicate by Popes; Namely, *Frederick* the first, *Frederick* the second, *Philip*, *Conrado*, *Otto* the fourth, *Laves* of Bauaria, *Henric* the fourth, and *Henric* the fifth, (which was occasion enough for their subiects to reuolt, and for other Princes to inuade) the succeeding Emperours, partly vnwilling,

vnwilling, but principally vnable to sustaine so sad and heauie blowes, submitted themselues to the papall power; renounced the right, which by long custome they claimed, in election of the Pope and of other Bishops. And to the contrarie, the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, acknowledged by his letters Parents*, that although he was elected Emperour by the Princes, yet hee was to bee confirmed by the Pope, and to receive the Imperial crowne from him. Whereupon Pope *Pius* the fifth, did sharply rebuke the Emperour *Ferdinand* by his Legat, for neglecting to receiue of him the Imperial Crowne; neither would he admit the Emperours excuse, but had proceeded by excommunication to compel him, had he not by entreaty of the French King, and of King *Philip* of Spaine the Emperours kinsman, been otherwise appeased.

* Incip. post pedum oscula.

In the forme of the coronation of the Emperours, which was approved by the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and is kept in the *Vaticane* at Rome, many seruile ceremonies are contained. As, that the Emperour supplieth the office of a subdeacon, in ministering to the Pope when he saith Masse; and that after diuine seruice he holdeth the stirrop, whilest the Pope mounteth to horse; and for a certaine space leadeth his horse by the bridle. Adde heere to the kissing of the Popes seete, as *Charles* the fifth did, at Bononia, at Rome, and last of all at *Marsielles* in Provence, in the presence of diuers other great Princes: adde their humble subscriptions to the Pope; *I kisse the hands and feete of your holiness*: adde that they must seeke the Pope for receiuing the Imperiall crowne, wherefoeuer he shall be; and follow him if he chance to remoue: with diuers like tokens and testimonies of deuotion of the Maiesty of that State.

Pan. c. causam.
qui fil. si. le. &
c. solita. de ma.
& ob. c. nouit.
de iudi. & c.
licet. n. 8. de fo.
comp. & in c. 1.
n. 2. 3. 4. de pro.
bat.

* *Anno 1341.*

* *Feli. in c. fr.*
missime, n. 1. de
heret.

* *Molina. tract.*
2. de iust. dis.
put. 29.

* *Cle. Romani*
de luteur.

29

* *Cuiac. c. 7. de*
Imp.

and subiection thereof to the Sea of Rome. For further declaration whereof, during the life of the Emperour, the Popes challenge to be his Iudge; and the Emperiall seate being void, they claime the exercise of Imperiall power, and haue giuen inuestitures and receiued fealtie, of those who held of the Empire; as of *Iohn* and *Luchin*, Vicounts of Milane*. For which cause the Canonists alio (who set vp these strings to the highest straine) doe maintaine opinion, that the Emperour cannot resigne his Imperiall dignitie to any other then the Pope: and that it is a streine of heresie*, not to beleue that the Emperor is subiect to the Pope: and that the Emperour is but the Popes Minister*, to vse his sword only at his becke. Lastlie, Pope *Clement* the fifth, expressely declared by decree*, that the oath which the Emperour maketh to the Pope, is no other then an oath of fealtie.

Neither hath it been against the Empire only, that the Popes haue had this power to preuaile, but against diuers other Christian countries; in so much as they haue claimed to hold, either as feudataries or as tributaries to their Sea, the kingdomes of *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Hiernusalem*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, *Arragon*, *Portugale*, *Nauarre*, *Ireland*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Poland*, *Hungarie*, to which *Cuiacius** adioyneth the kingdome of *France*, which Pope *Boniface* the eight, declared to be deuolued to the Church, for the contempt and disobedience of King *Philip* the faire. And Pope *Alexander* the sixt in diuiding the late discovered parts of the world, betweene the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugale*, expressely reserued to his Sea, the Iurisdiction and soueraignty of them, by consent of both Kings; who from that time became his vassals, of all the purchases and conquests which before

fore they had achieved, or intended to enterptise in times to ensue. Generally, they do challenge temporall soueraigntie in all countries ^a; habitually at the least; which at pleasure they may produce into act ^x, whereby the subiects of any State may haue recourse vnto them ⁷; to forme complaint or suite against their Prince ²; to be relieued or protected by them, and to receiue priuiledges and immunities at their hands ^a. Whereby, also they may iudge the actions of Princes; and vpon such cause as they shal thinke meet, punish, excommunicate, depriue them; denounce publike warre against them ^b; free their subiects from subiection vnto them. As Pope. *Pius* the first, nor only absolued the subiects of England from their alleagance to the late Queene *Elizabeth*, but commanded them also to turne traytours, and take armes against her. After which Bull few yeeres passed without some notable attempt, either against her person, or against the State.

It would be very tedious to giue but a light touch to all the desperate distresses that hereupon haue bin occasioned, in diuers foraine countries; which out of their Annals may be furnished with ease. And the sequell now sheweth, that the chiefe encrease and establishment of the Turkish Empire, hath proceeded from the outrageous warres, which by this meanes haue been occasioned among the Christians; which made Europe on all sides to bath her limmes in the blood of her children. Against our owne State we cannot be ignorant, what heretofore hath bin acted; especially vnder the raigne of King *Iohn*. What hath been lately, what freshly, what is daily attempted, it cannot possible escape the memorie of those that liue in this present age: and for helpe of those who are to succeed, report thereof shall be made at large,

in

^a *Pan. in c. fi. de Baptism.*² *Pan. in c. 1. de se. comp. & in c. 1. de probat.*⁷ *Pan. in c. si duobus de appell.*^a *Pan. in c. 1. de prob. n. 2. & 3. & n. 6.*^a *Pan. in c. per venerabilem. n. 1. qui fil sunt legitimi.*^b *Pan. in d. 1. per venerabilem. & in c. si cut. n. 12. de iur. & in c.**& sine esse. de do. inter vir.**& vx.**Pius 5 in bulla.*

30

in a historie intended for the times lately passed, and now presently running. The accumulating of these examples in this place, would be a matter of some labour, for clearing that which hath little doubt.

Thus much in substance, but somewhat more briefly deliuered: it seemed that there was not any man in that presence, who, either in replie or in supplie, had not somewhat to say. That only was a hinderace to the discharging of their minds, which is pleasantly said to haue dissolued the Parliament of women; because they could not agree to speake one at once. Many shewed themselves so impatient of silence; and they who vpon aduiseiment could haue said least, were vpon the suddaine most franke and forward in words. At the last, that which was the cause that no man could haue free libertie of speech, did driue them all into a dumbe dumpe: which opportunity was forthwith apprehended by a thick Theologian, whose formall attire, countenance and carriage, was a good supplie to other defects. And so, hauing composed himselfe to all complements of grauitie and grace, he began his speech after the set and solemne manner of those disputers, who, contenting themselves with commendation of memorie, doe more diligently endeouour to repeate then to reply.

31 You haue declared vnto vs (said he) that the proper qualities of the rights of Maiestie are, to be both perpetuall, and also absolute; as neither depending vpon any other, nor yet held either vpon charge, or with exception and restraint. That these rights consist in managing affaires of highest nature, which cannot be separated from the soueraigne power; because vpon the guiding of them, all the fortunes of a
State

State do follow. That nothing is of so high nature in a State, as is religion: and that therefore the ordering thereof is annexed, as a right of Maiestie, to the soueraigne power; whether it be settled in a King, or in the Nobilitie, or in the people. For, seeing religion commandeth the conscience, and holdeth the soule in subiection, if supremacie therein be acknowledged to be in a forren Prince, the sinewes of domesticall foueraigntie are cut in sunder. You haue brought certaine examples of dangerous consequence, when either strangers or subiects haue bin followed for religion. You shewed y^e for auoiding the like dangers, two policits were anciently obserued; one consisted in excluding external ceremonies & rites; the other, in settling the government for matters in religion, in the supreame power and authority in the State. That this last was practised among the Iewes, Egyptians & in diuers other countries. In the foure great Monarchies also, of Assyria, of Persia, of Grecia, and of Rome. Of Rome (you say) first, vnder the government of Kings; secondly, in the popular state; thirdly, vnder Heathen Emperours; and lastly, (for a good space) vnder Christian Emperors; who in matters of circumstance and of external forme in religion, both vsed, and were acknowledged to haue supreame authoritie: of whose lawes, diuers were afterwards either assumed by Popes, or attributed vnto them. Concerning matters of substance, and of internall forme, they assembled generall Councils; wherein they held the Primacie; and confirmed the acts of them by Imperiall decree. You declared also, that when Constantinople was aduanced to be the head of the Empire, a stiffe strife did arise betwixt the Bishops of Constantinople and of Rome, whether should be greatest; that diuers Emperours fauoured

the Church of Constantinople; but at the last, Pope *Boniface* obtained of the Emperour *Phocas*, that the Sea of Rome should be the chiefe of all other Churches. This you account an errour in government; to settle a power of so high qualitie, in a place farre distant from the principall strength of the Empire. For hereby the Bishops of Rome did grow to such greatness, that they drew the west part of the Empire to reuolt; and left the residue for a pray to the barbarous Infidels. Lastly you haue shewed, that the Bishops of Rome, aduancing their authoritie by degrees, haue been of power, to reduce the west Empire to a feeble state; and to hold, not the Emperour alone, but all the chiefe Kings in Europe, either as vassals or as tributaries to their Sea. Generally, that they haue challenged Soueraigne iurisdiction ouer all Kingdomes and Common-wealthes in the world: whereby they haue cast diuers countries, and among others this Realme of England into desperate distresses.

Now, before answer should be offred to all these seuerall points, I would think it fit, (vnder the leaue of better Iudgements) to take some reasonable respite to aduise vpon them; because questions of this high nature, are not alwaies the same which sodainly they seeme: and he bewrayeth too great opinion of his owne sufficiencie, who presently will vnder take a controuersie of this weight. But, if Christ hath committed supream power in religion to the Sea of Rome, then is no place left to these rules and reasons of state.

Nay (answered *N.*) I haue protested before, that we haue neither leasure nor lust to engulphe our selues in such an Ocean. *If Christ hath committed to the sea of Rome!* This is a large supposall indeed; and that

that which will neuer settle in the opinion of many, who are otherwise firmly affected to the doctrine of the Church of Rome. Yea, I am assuredly perswaded, that the violence of ambition hath pulled many Bishops of Rome from their owne iudgement, in making claime to that authoritie which they neuer had either title to hold, or abilitie to rule. For diuers of them being sodainely borne out of a low retired state; namely, from some Cloister or hermitage, into an vnknowne Sea of absolute authoritie, they were ouerswayed therewith, like a small boate with too large a saile: And being men for the most part, spent in age, vntained in experience, and neither by nature nor by education of abilitie, to conceiue the bounds and degrees of great affaires, they tooke to themselues a licentious libertie; supposing it reasonable, yea altogether necessarie, that all the Kings and Princes of the earth, who hold their estate immediately from heauen, who receiue their power from the hand of God, should be subiect to the pleasure, the passions, the fierie furie; the ignorance, the errors, the malice, of one haughtie and humerous man, whose weaknes is subiect (as it hath bin plainelie declared by their liues) to all immoderate motions of humanitie. And al this vpon no other ground but because Christ said to S. Peter; *Thou art Peter, Matth. 16. and vpon this rock will I build my Church &c.* But what is this to Supremacie? what is this to the Bishop of Rome? diuers questions must be cleered before this will serue the one or the other.

For, first it is but weakely assured, that S. Peter euer was at Rome. Many reasons are alleaged against it; and many authorities are brought for it. But it often happeneth that the common consent of writers is like vnto a flocke of fowles; as one flieth all

Matth. 28.

Galatb. 2. 7.

Act. 23. 11.

doe follow. Secondly, it is lesse assured that euer he was Bishop of Rome. For, being an Apostle, his charge was generall; *goe teach all nations*; and therefore not to be, as a Bishop, either limited or settled in any one particular place. Or if we wil say, that either by appointment or by choise, some part of this generall charge was apportioned to S. Peter; then this seemeth, or rather is most assured to haue been *Iudea*, by that which S. Paul hath written: that, *the Gospell of Circumcision was committed vnto Peter, as the Gospell of the uncircumcision was vnto him*. And therefore we find in Scripture, that S. Paul was expressly sent to Rome; but that S. Peter was euer at Rome, we hold it by tradition. This is further confirmed by the long abode which S. Peter made in Iudea, and by the short stay which is possible he could haue made at Rome, euen by computation of them who best fauoured the dignitie of that Sea.

Act. 12.

With that he called for *Onuphrius*, and out of him read vnto vs, that S. Peter liued after the death of Christ 34. yeeres, 3. monethes and odde daies; that the first nine yeeres he remained in Iudea; that in the tenth yeere after Christs Passion, in the end of the second yeere of the Empire of *Claudius*, he departed from Iudea for feare of *Agrippa*, from whose imprisonment hee had been deliuered by an angell; that after he had trauailed preaching through many countries, he came to Rome, and there contended with *Simon Magus*: That after foure yeeres, *Agrippa* being dead, for feare of whom he forsooke Iudæa, he returned to Ierusalem, and was there present at the Councell of the Apostles, wherein circumcision was abrogated: That after this he remained seuen yeeres at *Antioch*; that in the beginning of the Empire, of
Nero

Nero he returned to Rome, and from thence traui-
led almost thorough all the parts of Europe: that
comming againe to Rome in the last yeere of *Nero*,
S. Paul and he were there martyred.

To this agreeth that which *Irenæus* saith; *The Iren. de heres.*
bluffed Apostles Peter and Paul, laying the founda- lib. 3. cap. 5.
tion of the Church of Rome, committed to Linus the Fundates beati
Bishopricke, or charge of administration of what Apostoli Petrus
Church. & Paulus Ro-
manam eccle-

Now, said he, the third question is, whether by
these words, *Thou art Peter, &c.* Christ gaue vnto *S.*
Peter any speciall power or Iurisdiction, either spiri-
tuall or secular, more then vnto the residue of the
Apostles; where he did exercise; when make claime
to any such power; by which of the Apostles it was
acknowledged; by what ancient father of the Church
aduowed. For diuers testimonies of *S. Paul* do beare
against it: *S. Augustine*, *S. Cyprian* and others of *Aug. tract. 50.*
principall authoritie in the Church doe expressly *ad cap. 12. 10.*
denie it. Whereas the Scripture giueth so large *Cyp. in tract. de*
and plaine testimonie, both for the title and autho- *simpliciter.*
ritie of Kings, as it seemeth no greater can be added
thereunto.

The fourth question may bee, whether any power
was giuen vnto *S. Peter*, as Bishop of Rome: (which
before the ascension of Christ hee could not bee) o-
therwise, how falleth it, that the same should bee ra-
ther fixed in the Church of Rome, then in any of
those Churches, where it is manifest by the scriptures
that he remained many yeeres, imploying himselfe
in the exercise of his charge?

Fifily, what assurance can we haue, that the power
which is said to be committed to *S. Peter*, was to be
transmitted entirely to any of his successors in place,
who are so farre from being mentioned, as it is no-

Matth. 28.

Galatb. 2. 7.

Act. 23. 11.

doe follow. Secondly, it is lesse assured that ever he was Bishop of Rome. For, being an Apostle, his charge was generall; *goe teach all nations*; and therefore not to be, as a Bishop, either limited or settled in any one particular place. Or if we wil say, that either by appointment or by choise, some part of this generall charge was apportioned to S. Peter; then this seemeth, or rather is most assured to have been Iudea, by that which S. Paul hath written: that, *the Gospell of Circumcision was committed unto Peter, as the Gospell of the uncircumcision was unto him*. And therefore we find in Scripture, that S. Paul was expressly sent to Rome; but that S. Peter was ever at Rome, we hold it by tradition. This is further confirmed by the long abode which S. Peter made in Iudea, and by the short stay which is possible he could have made at Rome, even by computation of them who best favoured the dignitie of that Sea.

Act. 12.

With that he called for *Onuphrius*, and out of him read unto vs, that S. Peter liued after the death of Christ 34. yeeres, 3. monethes and odde daies; that the first nine yeeres he remained in Iudea; that in the tenth yeere after Christs Passion, in the end of the second yeere of the Empire of *Claudius*, he departed from Iudea for feare of *Agrippa*, from whose imprisonment hee had been deliuered by an angell; that after he had trauailed preaching through many countries, he came to Rome, and there contended with *Simon Magus*: That after foure yeeres, *Agrippa* being dead, for feare of whom he forsooke Iudea, he returned to Ierusalem, and was there present at the Councell of the Apostles, wherein circumcision was abrogated: That after this he remained seuen yeeres at *Antioch*; that in the beginning of the Empire, of
Nero

Nero he returned to Rome, and from thence traui-
led almost thorough all the parts of Europe: that
comming againe to Rome in the last yeere of Nero,
S. Paul and he were there martyred.

To this agreeth that which *Irenæus* saith; *The Iren. de heres.*
bluffed Apostles Peter and Paul, laying the founda- lib. 3. cap. 5.
tion of the Church of Rome, committed to Linus the Fundat. beati
Bishopricke, or charge of administration of that Apostoli Petrus
Church. & Paulus Ro-
manam eccle-

Now, said he, the third question is, whether by
these words, *Thou art Peter, &c.* Christ gaue vnto S.
Peter any speciall power or iurisdiction, either spiri-
tuall or secular, more then vnto the residue of the
Apostles; where he did exercise; when make claime
to any such power; by which of the Apostles it was
acknowledged; by what ancient father of the Church
aduowed. For diuers testimonies of S. Paul do beare
against it: S. *Augustine*, S. *Cyprian* and others of
principall authoritie in the Church doe expressly
denie it. Whereas the Scripture giueth so large
and plaine testimonie, both for the title and autho-
ritie of Kings, as it seemeth no greater can be added
thereunto.

The fourth question may bee, whether any power
was giuen vnto S. *Peter*, as Bishop of Rome: (which
before the ascension of Christ hee could not bee) o-
therwise, how falleth it, that the same should bee ra-
ther fixed in the Church of Rome, then in any of
those Churches, where it is manifest by the scriptures
that he remained many yeeres, imploying himselfe
in the exercise of his charge?

Fistly, what assurance can we haue, that the power
which is said to be committed to S. *Peter*, was to be
transmitted entirely to any of his successors in place,
who are so farre from being mentioned, as it is no-

thing probable that euer they were ment. For, as *Matthias* was not the worse for succeeding vnto *Iudas* in place; so is not any man the better, onely for his locall succession to *S. Peter*.

Gen. 17. 8.

2. Sam. 7. 16.

Psal. 89. 36.

Apo. 2.

Lastly, seeing the promises of God are with exception; if we continue in obedience to his wil: and therefore, although all the land of Canaan was expressly promised to *Abraham* and to his seede for an euerlasting possession, yet was the posteritie of *Abraham*, for their disobedience, first cast out of the greatest part thereof, and afterwards dispossessed of all. And although the kingdome of Israel was expressly promised to *Danid* and to his seede for euer, yet the succession was broken off, by reason of their sinnes. Againe, seeing the Church of *Ephesus*, although furnished with many excellent vertues, was threatned notwithstanding, that the candlestick should bee remoued out of his place, onely for thar their first loue was abated. If wee should suppose (supposall is free) that expresse promise was made to *S. Peter*, and to his successours the Bishops of Rome, that they should represent the authoritie of Christ vpon earth; it will be a hard peece to perswade men, who haue not abandoned their owne iudgement, that this power was not long since either expired or reuoked, by reaso of the dissolute disorders, the irregular outrages and impieties, which haue bin ordinarie in that Sea. *Marcelline* sacrificed vnto Idols; *Liberius* was an Arian; another a Nestorian; *Anastafius* the second embraced the error of *Acatius*. *Sabinian* was a man of base behauiour, and altogether opposite to the vertues of *S. Gregorie*. *Constantine* the second procured himselfe to be elected by corruption and force. *Ioan* the eighth, was a woman and a harlot. *Romanus*, *Theodorus*, *Iohn* the tenth,

teenth, and *Christopher*, were infamous for seditions, symonie, lust, and other base abuses in life. *Iohn* 11. the bastard of Pope *Sergius*, was elected by fauour of *Theodora* his mistrisse. *Iohn* the 13. was accused of many vile villanies before the Emperour *Orbo* the great. *Boniface* the 7. attained his place by corruption, and maintained it by sacrilege. *Siluester* the second, was a Magician, and came to his dignitie by couenancing with the diuell. *Benedict* the 10. was compelled to quit his place, because of his Symony. *Boniface* the 8. was aduanced like a Foxe, reigned like a Lion, and died like a dogge. What? shall we say, that all these were the oracles of heaven? the heads of the Church? the guides and grounds of religion? the successors of *S. Peter*? the Vicars general of Iesus Christ? wil worldly Princes endure such, who are not only vnseruiceable vnto them, but dishonorable, but rebellious, for their liefetenants? And seeing good life is a fruite of faith, seeing faith is expressed by actions of life, shall we say that these men who liued in this sort, could neither erre nor faile in faith? Alas, how then would they haue liued, if they could haue erred or failed in faith?

I will not digge deep into this dunghill; I will not speak of the heresies of *Iohn* the 23. of the scandalous deportments of *Eugenius* the 4. of the Incests, Sorceries, poysonings, & cutthroat cruelties of *Alexander* the 6. of the couetousnes, the cruelties, the periuries, the blasphemies, the adulteries, the Sodometries, the disdainfull pride, the cunning dissimulatio, and other infamous behavior of diuers other Bishops of *Rome*. I will not speake of the two monsters lately hatched within that Sea, to the broad blemish of religion, to the vtter ouerthrow of ciuill societie: the one equiuocation; the other parricide of Princes, & raising rebellions.

that was throwen out of state in *Liguria*, reported of a certaine Archbishop of Colen. As this Archbishop being also Duke of *Colen*, passed through a small Village in Germanie, with so great a traine of armed men (according to the fashion of that people) that it neerly approched the greatnes of an armie; a certain countrie fellow brake forth into a loude laughter against him. And being therefore presented before the Archbishop, hee boldly said, that hee could not refraine both to laugh and to admire, considering the great pouverie, the great humilitie, wherein the Apostles passed the trauailes of this life, that they who carrie themselves for the Apostles successours, should thus plunge themselves both in plentie and in pride. Simple fellow, said the Archbishop, I doe now beare the state and presence of a Duke; I represent an Archbishop when I am within the church. At this speech, the fellow did rise into a more broad and bolde laughter. And being demanded the cause thereof, I pray you, said hee, whilest this Duke ruineth the Church, both by action and example, how is the Bishop in the meane time busied; and when this Duke for this cause shall goe to the diuell, what shall then become of the Bishop?

There was not any amongst vs, who did not countenance this conceit with a smile. And this had put a period to our discourse, had not one maintained it with further speech; that he would gladly heare these questions so fullie followed, as when hee saw them fairely laid. Affirming, that thereby he supposed it would appeare, that it is impossible to find a worke of so great waight, as is the supremacie of the Bishop of Rome, vpon so weake and feeble a foundation. But this will require (said hee) both the leasure and labour of some excellent Diuine.

True (answered *N.*) and yet many of these questions haue a mixture of humanitie: a mixture also both of the Ciuill and Canon law. And I haue often maruailed (with that he cast a side countenance vpon me) by what meanes it falleth, when in other countries the professors of these lawes are most accomplished schollers, and fittest for matters of mixt professions; that in England only, either they are not so, or are not so (at leastwise) repured.

I was forward to haue answered. But it appeared that the intent of *N.* was, by crossing into this question to cut off the other. For, referring this point to a more private conference between him and me, he fell into varietie of other talke. So, the time being well spent, after some ceremonies of curtesie, all of vs withdrew, whether our particular occasions did leade,

FINIS.

Errata.

Pag. 9. lin. 5. reade *Synesius*. pag. 10. in marg. read *uicijus non*,
p. 11. in marg. 7. read *idem*. *ibid.* *apla*. p. 16. l. 3. read *Diana*. p. 17.
lin. 21. read *Diodorus*. p. 21. lin. 10. read *Virgil*. *ibid.* lin. 13. read
Festus. p. 25. lin. 15. read ceremonies. p. 31. in marg. ^u. read *in* *de*.
p. 33. lin. 10. read *Constantinople*. pag. 38. in marg. reade *c. tibi*
domino.

